

## Message Text

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15  
ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00

INRE-00 NSAE-00 /031 W  
----- 036124

O 201009Z OCT 73  
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7010  
INFO USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE  
USCINCEUR IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 6076

EXDIS

USNMR SHAPE AND USCINCEUR FOR GENERALS GOODPASTER AND EADE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR MARR SP XF UK  
SUBJ: SPECIAL JOINT COMMITTEE MEETING: U.S. USE OF SPANISH BASES

REF: (A) MADRID 5933 (B) MADRID 6004 (C) MADRID 5951

1. SPECIAL MEETING OF JOINT COMMITTEE BEGAN AT SIX PM  
OCTOBER 19 AND CONTINUED FOR ALMOST TWO AND A HALF HOURS.  
FOREIGN MINISTER AND I WERE ACCOMPANIED BY RESPECTIVE  
MILITARY ADVISORS, GENERAL DIEZ-ALGERIA AND GENERAL EADE,  
AND BY SPANISH AND U.S. MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC SECRETARIES.

2. IN OPENING REMARKS, FOREIGN MINISTER EXPLAINED GOS  
HAD CALLED SPECIAL MEETING TO EXAMINE SITUATION CREATED BY  
MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT AND POSSIBLE WAYS U.S. AIRLIFT TO ISRAEL  
MIGHT IMPINGE ON BASES. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT GOS HAD FELT  
NEED FOR MEETING EVEN THOUGH SPANISH AND U.S. POSITIONS HAD  
BEEN AIRED IN OUR MEETINGS OF OCTOBER 17 AND 18, (REFS  
A AND B), AND THOUGH U.S. HAD PROVIDED LETTER OF  
EXPLANATION ON DEVELOPMENTS OBSERVED AT TORREJON BY  
SPANISH OFFICIALS (REF C).

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3. LOPEZ-RODO INJECTED NOTE OF OPTIMISM THAT MIDDLE EAST  
WAR MAY SOON END, COMMENTING THAT SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN  
WASHINGTON HAD CONFIRMED TO SPANISH AMBASSADOR THAT HE  
WAS IN CONTACT WITH SECRETARY OF STATE ABOUT CONFLICT

AND THAT "WITHIN TWO WEEKS" TWO AMBASSADORS COULD HAVE LUNCH TOGETHER "TO CELEBRATE SUCCESS". I REITERATED FERVENT HOPE OF U.S. FOR EARLY END TO WAR AND JUST, EQUITABLE AND LASTING PEACE.

4. FOREIGN MINISTER THEN DISCUSSED IN SOME DETAIL GOS POSITION IN CURRENT SITUATION, PARTLY IN RESPONSE TO SUBSTANCE OF MY DEMARCHE OF OCTOBER 18. HE ADVANCED FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS:

A) GOS NOT "INWARD LOOKING" AS U.S. STATEMENT CLAIMS (REF B) BUT IS OF COURSE CONCERNED WITH ITS OWN INTERESTS AND SECURITY AND MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT REAL EXTERNAL PRESSURES. IMPORTANT FACTOR IS THAT SPAIN HAS TERRITORIAL BORDERS WITH THREE ARAB STATES, ALGERIA, MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA. PRESERVATION OF GOOD SPANISH-ARAB RELATIONS IS IN GREAT INTEREST OF BOTH SPAIN AND U.S., WHOSE INTERESTS SPAIN REPRESENTS IN UAR. DR. KISSINGER HAD EXPRESSED HIS AWARENESS OF GOS SPECIAL INTEREST IN MOROCCO AND APPRECIATED SPAIN'S WILLINGNESS TO FOLLOW EVENTS THERE. MISUSE OF SPANISH BASES WOULD AFFECT SPAIN'S STANDING WITH ARABS AND, CONCOMITANTLY, DAMAGE U.S. INTERESTS.

B) IN SPANISH VIEW, MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT IS NEITHER ATTACK ON NOR THREAT TO WEST, CUT CONTINUATION OF HISTORICAL JEWISH-ARAB STRUGGLE. WHEN BASES AGREEMENT REACHED IN 1970, 1967 MIDDLE EAST WAR WAS A THING OF PAST AND NOT A CONSIDERATION. THEREFORE, SPAIN COULD NOT CONCEIVE OF ANY POSSIBLE CONNECTION BETWEEN MIDDLE-EAST TENSIONS AND BASES.

C) GOS INFORMED BY CONFIDENTIAL, "RELIABLE" AMERICAN SOURCE THAT U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS ASSURED U.K. THAT U.S. BASES THERE WILL NOT BE USED IN SUPPORT OF AIRLIFT, NOT EVEN FOR AERIAL REFUELING. THERE IS EVEN GREATER JUSTIFICATION FOR GOS TO RECEIVE SUCH ASSURANCES SINCE SPAIN IS NOT NATO MEMBER AND HAS THREE ARAB NEIGHBORS.

5. RESPONDING TO THESE POINTS, I REAFFIRMED U.S. APPRECIATION OF SPAIN'S SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH ARABS,  
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BUT OBSERVED THAT RELATIONS OF PRESENT CONFLICT TO OVERALL EAST-WEST RELATIONS STILL HAD TO BE BORNE IN MIND. MASSIVE SOVIET AIRLIFT, IN FACE OF INITIAL U.S. RESTRAINT, HAD ADDED NEW DIMENSION AND FORCED U.S. TO RESPOND IN ORDER TO AVOID DESTABILIZATION OF MILITARY BALANCE. I DECLINED TO COMMENT ON ANY REPORTS OF U.S. ASSURANCES TO U.K. OR RELIABILITY OF THEIR SOURCE, BUT ASSURED HIM I WOULD REPORT HIS VIEWS.

6. FOREIGN MINISTER PROFESSED TO UNDERSTAND U.S. DESIRE TO MAINTAIN BALANCE AND ARREST ANY SOVIET ADVANCE IN AREA, BUT HE FAILED TO UNDERSTAND WHY U.S. MUST MAINTAIN AIRLIFT THROUGH SPANISH AIRSPACE. GREAT CIRCLE ROUTE FROM U.S. TO ISRAEL, HE NOTED, IS VIA GANDER, (NEWFOUNDLAND) FRANCE, U.K., GREECE AND TURKEY. HE WONDERED WHY U.S.

DOESN'T RUN ITS AIRLIFT OVER THIS ROUTE AND THUS AVOID INVOLVING SPAIN IN CONFLICT AND IMPERILING ITS RELATIONS WITH ARABS. HE HAD BEEN INFORMED THAT AIRLIFT PLANES ARE OVERFLYING SPANISH TERRITORY AND THEIR CONTRAILS ARE OBSERVED FROM TOWNS IN SOUTH SUCH AS ALMERIA.

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

NSAE-00 CCO-00 /031 W  
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O 201009Z OCT 73  
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7011  
INFO USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE  
USCINCEUR IMMEDIATE  
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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 6076

EXDIS

7. ASSERTIONS ABOUT POSSIBLE U.S. INTRUSIONS INTO SPANISH AIRSPACE, I REPLIED, SHOULD BE INVESTIGATED BECAUSE I WAS CONFIDENT THAT WAS NOT U.S. INTENTION. WHILE I DISCLAIMED DETAILED KNOWLEDGE OF FLIGHT PATHS, I SAID U.S. NORMAL PRACTICE IS TO OVERFLY INTERNATIONAL WATERS AND DEVIATIONS FROM THIS PRACTICE WOULD BE IN VIOLATION OF INSTRUCTIONS AND WARRANT INVESTIGATION. BUT I CAUTIONED AGAINST QUICK CONCLUSIONS ABOUT IDENTIFICATION OF HIGH-FLYING PLANES OR THEIR POSITIONS ON BASIS OF CONTRAILS.

8. CITING SECTION ONE ARTICLE VIII, PARAGRAPH ONE OF AGREEMENT IN IMPLEMENTATION, FOREIGN MINISTER FELT IT WAS CLEAR THAT, IN CASE OF AIRCRAFT NOT STATIONED IN SPAIN, OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS CONDITIONAL UPON AIRCRAFT PERFORMING FUNCTIONS AUTHORIZED UNDER AFC. HE CONSIDERED OVERFLIGHTS TO RESUPPLY ISRAEL NOT REPEAT NOT WITHIN PURVIEW OF AFC. HE FURTHER UNDERSTOOD THAT NO AUTHORITY EXISTS TO USE BASES IN SUPPORT OF ANY BELLIGERENT, NOT EVEN THEIR USE BY TANKERS TO REFUEL AIRCRAFT ENROUTE TO WAR ZONE. TO ILLUSTRATE SPAIN'S STRONG COMMITMENT TO NON-INVOLVEMENT, HE RECALLED THAT IN DARK DAYS OF 1939 AND 1940 FEEBLE SPAIN HAD FIRMLY RESISTED PRESSURES FROM THEN TRIUMPHANT GERMANY TO USE SPANISH SHIPS TO REFUEL GERMAN SUBS ON  
SECRET

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HIGH SEAS. I PROMISED TO REPORT THESE VIEWS TO USG.

9. FOR REMAINDER OF MEETING LOPEZ-RODO DIRECTED DISCUSSIONS TOWARD STANDING SPANISH REQUEST FOR TRANSFER OF 98TH TANKER WING FROMTORREJON TO ZARAGOZA AIR BASE (DISCUSSIONS TO BE REPORTED IN SEPARATE MESSAGE). SHORTLY BEFORE ADJOURNMENT (HE COMMENTED HE WAS OBLIGED TO BREAK OFF TO KEEP APPOINTMENT WITH SAUDI ARABIAN FONMIN), HE RECEIVED FROM MFA AIDE COPY OF EUROPE PRESS RELEASE, DATELINE MADRID, OCTOBER 19, WHICH HE READ AND THEN GAVE ME. RELEASE (TEXT PROVIDED IN MADRID 6074) REPORTED SPANISH TERRITORY AROUND ALMERIA BEING OVERFLOWN DAILY BY LARGE NUMBERS OF USAF TRANSPORTS AND FIGHTER-BOMBERS BOUND FOR ISRAEL. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT NORMAL PRESS PROPENSITY FOR ERROR, FONMIN STILL FELT THAT RELEASE, IF HE WAS UNSUCCESSFUL IN BLOCKING IT, WOULD AROUSE PUBLIC OPINION AND BRING NEW ARAB PRESSURES, PARTICULARLY FROM ALGERIA AND MOROCCO, COUNTRIES LYING NEAR ROUTES BEING FLOWN BY U.S. PLANES. I FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE NEWS AGENCY'S CLAIMS, REMINDING HIM AGAIN THAT AIRCRAFT UNDER SOME CONDITIONS CAN BE SEEN FROM GREAT DISTANCE. BUT I PROMISED TO LOOK INTO THESE ALLEGATIONS. RIVERO

SECRET

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** MARR, US, XF, UK, SP  
**To:** STATE INFO USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS  
USCINCEUR  
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